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SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART II

"FROM MUKDEN TO SHANGHAI"

(24 Dec 1931 - 29 Feb 1932)

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Angus V. Rutledge
ANGUS V. RUTLEDGE
Major, Field Artillery
CIS, GHQ, FEC

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 22
(24 December 1931)

Inukai appointed Premier

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

We decided to depart at 9:30 A.M. or thereabouts reaching Shimbashi at 2:23 P.M. and conferring with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain and the Imperial Household Minister before we appeared before the Throne. On the same morning, before we had left, MATSUDA, Genji approached the Prince for an interview, but the Prince said: "It is very discourteous, but I must decline to meet anyone until everything is cleared up." However, MATSUDA lied to news reporters, telling them that he had met the Prince. Furthermore, MATSUDA asked: "May I see you on the train enroute to Tokyo?" But the Prince reiterated: "I will see no one even on the train," and declined conclusively. As soon as I had gone to the Prince's residence, that morning he had said: "Regardless of how much I think about it, there seems to be no other way besides INUKAI's independent Cabinet. What do you think?" Again, I was pressed for my opinion.

I replied: "I also have thought about it seriously but I see no other way besides INUKAI's independent Cabinet. I think as you do because it is a critical time when something must be done in spite of the very great effects likely to be felt in financial circles."

In my association with the Prince since 1916, I had come up against five political changes, but there had been no previous occasions when he had emphatically asked me: "Just what do you think?" He seemed very

regretful to have SHIDEHARA quitting from the standpoint of international situation, and to have INOUYE removed from the financial situation, but he said, as if speaking to himself: "Won't SHIDEHARA and INOUYE be doing more of a public service if they rest from their fatigue and recuperate to stage a comeback?"

While enroute, various topics were discussed and after we reached Shimbashi we immediately changed clothes at the Surugadai home and departed for the Palace at 3:00 P.M. Since the three persosns of the Imperial circle were waiting, he met them in the room of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Later the Prince told me: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal inclined to favor a coalition Cabinet, but he did not come out very strongly. We had practically decided to advance an independent Cabinet, but there seemed to be some reluctant lingering over a coalition government. MAKINO still seemed to favor a coalition so I said: "Looking back on the period of the SATSUMA-CHOSHU Cabinet, the difficulties of coalition are apparent. I will say this in front of you, but it was very troublesome when both the SATSUMA clan and the CHOSHU clan tried to push through its claims and began fighting. Even though the present situation is very different from those days, coalitions are not very desirable. However, the Imperial Household Minister, defending MAKINO's stand, said: 'Because times are different now, there should not be so much of those things.' However, here were not great differences of opinion among the three about setting up INUKAI as Premier of the succeeding Cabinet."

Inukai appointed Premier

After an hour and a half discussion, Prince SAIONJI appeared before the Emperor by himself and answered the Emperor's queries. After the Prince said: "On this occasion I think that INUKAI, Takeshi is the suitable leader for the succeeding Cabinet," he left. While riding back to his home from the north court entrance, the Prince said: "I had expected to return to Okitsu on the 6:00 P.M. train, but I must sleep here tonight because of the Emperor's very private request, When you get back to Surugadai, please phone INUKAI immediately to come to my place."

Continuing, he said: "The Emperor is well informed and I think his anxiety is great. The Emperor said: 'The person who will lead the succeeding Cabinet must be earnestly cautioned by Prince SAIONJI; that is, about the mismanagement and high-handedness of the Army. In short, the Army's meddling in domestic and foreign politics, endeavoring to have its way, is a situation which we must view with apprehension for the good of the nation. Be mindful of my anxiety and please convey to INUKAI the full import of it. After that I will summon INUKAI'."

As soon as I got back to Surugadai, I phoned INUKAI, Ken: "Please tell President INUKAI of the Seiyukai to come as soon as possible." and some forty or fifty minutes later INUKAI, together with Ken, came to Surugadai.

The Prince showed INUKAI in to the study and conveyed the anxiety of the Emperor over the present political change, and said that previously, when Premier WAKATSUKI reported to the Emperor on the appointment of

Inukai appointed Premier

HARA, Fujiro as the Finance Minister, the Emperor minutely questioned his personal history. And towards the end, the Emperor asked: "Is he not an ex-convict?" At which the Premier was over-awed and asked for a brief respite and departed. At that time, the Emperor asked for the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and said: "What is this I hear concerning HARA, about whom the Premier came to report, being an ex-convict?"

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal replied: "He was formerly on probation for some incident. But by your generous amnesty on your succession to the Throne, there is nothing against him today. Everything has been erased."

The Emperor continued: "The legal responsibility may have been erased, but what is to be done about the moral responsibility?" To which the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had no answer. It seems that the Prince told Premier INUKAI that the Emperor took a very careful attitude in his appointment of Cabinet Ministers.

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Chapter 23
(30 December 1931)

New Appointees

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

Premier INUKAI returned to his home after conferring for about an hour. About 3:00 P.M. the Premier appeared at the court of the Emperor after receiving the Imperial Mandate to form a new Ministry and withdrew after requesting a brief delay. He immediately embarked on the preparation of a Cabinet listing such non-members of parties as Lieut. General ARAKI for War Minister, Admiral OSUMI for Navy Minister and YOSHIZAWA for Foreign Minister. However, because SUZUKI and TOKONAMI were centers of controversy, NAKAHASHI was appointed Home Minister. To alleviate the numerous criticism levied at the Home Ministry, especially in respect to personnel administration, and the bad repute of the Seiyukai in some quarters, KAWARADA was appointed Vice-Minister, MORIOKA, Jiro as Director of the Police Bureau, and CHO as Superintendent-General of Metropolitan Police. In any case, those who were criticezed greatly or labelled were not appointed. Viscount TAKAHASHI was appointed Finance Minister because of the grave nature of the situation and because he added weight to INUKAI's Cabinet as an associate. In the choice of MORI as Chief Secretary and HATOYAMA as Education Minister in order to pacify the SUZUKI group, it can be easily seen that INUKAI went to no little trouble.

INUKAI, Ken came to me and urged incessantly: "Please do your utmost to help", and MORI, Kaku took the trouble to come over and say: "Help us in any

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possible way." To those I replied: "Equality must be my standpoint, but I will do my best in very necessary cases and I cannot definitely do anything impartial."

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Chapter 24
(12 January 1932)

Zaibatsu's Yen, 60,000,000

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

When I met Home Minister NAKAHASHI, he was greatly pleased about his appointment and said: "While I had supported SUZUKI as Home Minister, events suddenly altered this way and SUZUKI seems very displeased, but to me, he kindly expressed goodwill while very displeased with the Premier. He was unwilling to accept the post of Justice Minister, but was persuaded by MORI and HATOYAMA to accept. When I was appointed I did not know the personnel at all. When we are called to the Premier's home, MORI was asked "Have you any proposals for Superintendent-General of Metropolitan police, Vice-Minister or Director of the Police Bureau?" MORI pulled a paper out of his valise and said: "How is this?" KAWARADA was proposed as Vice-Minister of Home Affairs, MORIOKA as Director Superintendent-General of the Metropolitan Police. In short, they are on SUZUKI's wagon. After that there were various orders from SUZUKI, but because I conferred with KAWARADA, I must have incurred his displeasure when I did a lot to block the greater portion of his orders. KAWARADA is a very good man with no enemies, and so is the Director of the Police Bureau." To the appointment of Lieut. General ARAKI to the War Ministry post, the Premier is said to have given great thought. In view of the situation prevailing at the time of the preceding Cabinet, he was not selecting questionable men.

Because the cause for the present political change

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was machination, that is, because it can be thought of as KUHARA's and ADACHI's plot. KUHARA must be kept out of the Cabinet. KUHARA was very indignant and, just for a coalition Cabinet with TAKAHASHI, Korekiyo as the Premier. Before he brought this plan, that is, right after he found out that he would not be included in the Cabinet, he was very resentful. Because he expressed disatisfaction, even after leaving INUKAI's home in a seemingly jovial mood, INUKAI, Ken phoned: "We were finally able to block KUHARA from being in the Cabinet, but we could not help YOSHIZAWA's appointment as a minister. KUHARA is sure to act, so in that even, I ask your aid." There was danger of KUHARA acting mischievously, such as inflaming the young militarists. So from the possibilities of Lieut. General ARAKI and ABE, the Premier chose ARAKI because he stood in good stead with the young militarists and could enforce regulations in the event of emergency. The Army seemed somewhat settled after that. However, in one quarter, there arose a slander movement by the Shinuso group calling ARAKI a scoundrel. However, I don't think it's much of a problem.

I am hearing criticisms of the political change, as one is likely to hear, but an article, "Personalities Influencing the Political Situation" by BABA, Tsunego appeared in the Asahi Newspaper with the sub-title, "Genro Prince SAIONJI".

Personalities Influencing the Political Situation

Genro Prince SAIONJI

by BABA, Tsunego

What will the Japanese populace of 20 or 30 years hence think of the political change taking

place at present from WAKATSUKI to INUKAI? Detaching ourselves from the noise and the sentiments as to relative merits, only one recollection remains. By the political change, the second prohibition of the exportation of gold was accomplished and the Zaibatsu profited by several (ten million) yen. The loss of the gold standard policy may presumably stem from this.

That was just magnanimous speculation. Anticipating the decrease in the quotation of the Japanese Yen and rise in the American dollar, 300,000,000 yen were sold and the equivalent in dollars was purchased. As the result of the second prohibition of gold exportation, if the Yen quotation drops 20%, the profit will be 60,000,000 yen. At present, it has dropped in excess of 20%.

Dollars have been purchased and the government had to be compelled to carry out the second prohibition, so that profits could be obtained. However, tho Minseito Cabinet positively would not carry it out, there was a necessity for a political change if the prohibition was to be imposed. As had been expected, the political change occurred. The Seiyukai Cabinet, which appeared as a result of the political change, put into effect the prohibition policy on the same day as the Cabinet investiture. On that day, a bigwig of the Zaibatsu gave celebratory tips to his office boys and servants. Just as the yen were sold and dollars bought, and just as the Cabinet sold out and a Cabinet was bought out, so Japan was sold out and America bought out. The person who ordinarily acts like the patriot is this fellow.

This idea originated after September 21 when England went off the gold standard. If England does it Japan may do it. Arguments arose that it must be done at one's own discretion. England had short-term liabilities of about 3 billion yen to foreign countries. Because England's financial condition was dark, payment would have to be suspended compulsorily if those short-term liabilities were to be demanded. Japan does not have such outstanding short-term liabilities with foreign countries. Therefore, there were no causes for apprehension over collection. Curiously there were some who welcomed this stoppage of payments. There may come a time when banks will pride themselves on stopping payments to their clients.

Only there was a characteristic peculiar to Japan. This was due to the fact that the foreigners who had lent money to England were compelled to withdraw their loans. Thereafter, other nations sought to collect gold. However, the Zaibatsu took Japanese gold to foreign lands and propagated the rumor that Japan had little gold left and payments would have to be stopped. The bigwigs of the banks recklessly lent their gold and propagated the rumors that gold was scarce and payment may have to be stopped at any time. And it

would be very mysterious of the payments were not terminated. Will the reason adanced that there is a difference between the dollar-buying of the Zaibatsu and this action stand up? If so, I would like to hear it.

When the gold exportation prohibition was put into effect, two department stores in Tokyo made the clerks stay up all night to hike the price tags. Quickly the prices of commodities rose, but salaries and wages lagged. Hardship in living prevails. It can be endured if everyone is suffering alike, but on the one hand, the Zaibatsu profited by at least 60,000,000 yen. It was accomplished at the sacrifice of the nation and the public. Therefore, the more I ponder this political change, the more it nauseates me.

After Prince SAIONJI formed the INUKAI Cabinet, he returned to Okitsu and became ill. He is at the venerable age of 83; therefore, from human considerations, I don't want to defile him, but as the person who influenced this political situation, he must be pointed out. I pray that he insufficiently recovered from his illness when this appears in the press.

I know well the reason why Prince SAIONJI recommended INUKAI, which is according to the beaten path of constitutional government. He was abiding by the basic principle whereby two great political parties alternately take over political power. I can appreciate his intentions and determination.

He does not like political machinations. Home Minister ADACHI of the Minseito proposed a coalition Cabinet. TOMITA, Kojiro of one faction of that party secretly conferres with Chief Secretary KUHARA of the Seiyukai and drew up a memorandum for a coalition Cabinet. Cabinet members were to be selected on an equal basis, with both parties combining their efforts. TOMITA confronted Premier WAKATSUKI and demanded his assent. WAKATSUKI made no effort to take up the memorandum placed before him. This was because he was determined that the Minseito Cabinet should proceed independently. But if Home Minister ADACHI persisted in his opinion that a coalition was necessary, there was nothing to do but for him to resign. ADACHI's resignation papers were procured, but he did not accede. He insisted that he would not resign unless the resignation was enbloc. As a result, the Cabinet tendered its resignation enbloc.

Thus, it was left to Prince SAIONJI to arrange the formation of a succeeding Cabinet. If a coalition Cabinet was formed, it would attest to the success of machination, and to attach success to political machinations would be a bad precedent. It strengthened his determination to form an independent Seiyukai Cabinet with INUKAI, so he

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later recommended INUKAI. Up to now it can be called a very excellent course of action. But under the surface of this political change, there was the Zaibatsu, with its gleaming eyes which Prince SAIONJI did not see, had forgotten, or was not aware of.

The politicians who till then had thoroughly venerated Prince SAIONJI were heard to say: "The choise of the nominee is the final test of Prince SAIONJI as a Genro. If he permits the success of the Zaibatsu in selling out Japan, it makes no difference whether or not there is a Genro.

While the Zaibatsu is celebrating with toasts, I lack the courage to ask these politicians what they think of him.

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In respect to this, I cannot help but defend the Prince with a few words. This is not for the Prince's benefit, but so that future historians will not be misled. The Prince knew very well the importance of the financial problem to the present situation. The same goes for diplomacy. The Prince well knew that the two matters of foreign relations and financial administration were of the utmost importance in this situation. The diplomatic problem, namely the Manchukuo-Mongolia problem is, of course, very important, but Prince SAIONJI knew better than the public the greater import of the financial problem.

I have lately had the impression that the Prince was of a mind to let WAKATSUKI's Cabinet confirm this Diet session if there were no other complications, and that he would have liked to have him continue for one or two years if he could have reinforced the WAKATSUKI Cabinet. Prince SAIONJI seemed to feel that in spite of the fact that there were numerous criticisms of the foreign policy, basically, SHIDEHARA's methods were best, and that in spite of the voicing of opinions that the

financial policy was too conservative to permit recovery of the people from depression. INOUYE's policy in general, was good. He often said: "Won't WAKATSUKI doggedly carry on this way?"

I said: "The names of WAKATSUKI and SHIDEHARA do not give the public a very good impression. I think that the atmosphere must be cleared up once." However, the Prince was of the opinion that he rather thought INOUYE's methods the best in order to reconstruct Japan's finances soundly after the lifting of the gold embargo, and that the reconstruction of finance administration was the starting point. He seemed to feel that it might have been better of ADACHI's resignation only had been accepted and the rest of the Cabinet allowed to continue.

But if this had been done, the propaganda spread by the opposition for their own ulterior purposes, and indiscernable criticisms would have caused very bad feelings against the Imperial Circle. If the Seiyukai had joined a certain faction of elder statesmen in the government service and the military group had known of their plot, the results would have taken the form of attacks and criticisms against the Imperial circle. The anxiety that such undesirable results might have caused seemed to have dominated his mind. At any rate, criticism of the Imperial Court must be sensed and heeded. Financial administration and foreign relations are of course very important, but upper in his mind there was the idea that as a Genro, he must sacrifice all other matters in view of the national situation, however much he might regret it. The one

thing which cannot be altered is the position of the Imperial Court, regardless of the Seiyukai's policy prohibiting gold exportation or the occurence of speculative and evil transactions. It is quite comprehensible that there was no alternative, if the facts are recalled. The Premier seemed more concerned about that portion of the people who composed the so-called senior statesmen in the Privy Council(who felt indispensable to the Emperor and with whom the naive militarists might lead the unthinking mass of the nation into an unknown future), than with the degenerated practices of the political parties.

The opinions expressed by BABA present no more than one viewpoint (finance) even though the importance of the worldliness of government and its influence upon public sentiment are expressed. I am sure that if you consider it from the standpoint of anxiety for the vital interests of the nation, you will know that the Prince's action was reasonable.

On New Years day, (when I expressed my congratulations) the Prince talked to me on various matters. He said: "When WAKATSUKI was calling on the elder statesmen, I was shaken with the strong feeling of his having made a grave error. Those old men are itching for action and will jump at the chance to act. It would awaken the desire to hold a council for elder statesmen or a council in the Imperial presence. There may be those who think in this manner; however, there are those who are thinking that their existence might be made more conspicuous by those around them and their authority might be increased. Begging their pardon, just how many are

there among them who see it that way, sho really understand the trend of the time and really comprehend the circumstances? If no good comes of these councils, attended by those so little qualified, or if their decisions are not practical, the result will only be a blemish on the Emperor's virtue and it would be safest not to have them at all.

"I think we must be cautious against such actions, which would leave a precedent and which the Genro and chief retainers would like to establish as a custom. This would hamper future government and be against the spirit of the constitutional government. I felt that I would never endorse such actions whatever the Imperial circle or anybody else might think.

"Coalition Cabinet or otherwise, WAKATSUKI stated he could not be its leader, when I asked him. Even INUKAI emphatically said: 'It must be an independent Cabinet.' When the responsible Premier and the head of the opposition party opposes a coalition, isn't it reasonable that nothing else can be done. However, ADACHI and KUHARA struggled. When KUHARA came the second time and persistently emphasized the coalition, I did not agree or oppose him. I insisted that it was useless to come to persuade me, regardless of how often he came. So I feel that the single-party Cabinet of INUKAI could not be avoided and in accord with the natural course of events."

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Chapter 25
(16 January 1932)

Ugaki's Troubles in Korea

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

After INUKAI formed his Cabinet, particular care was exercised in personnel administration, at first, because the Premier attempted to run its affairs with as little criticism as as fastidiously as possible. However, many difficulties arose from the deep dissatisfaction expressed by a group because SUZUKI, Kisaburo was not reccomended for Home Minister. For instance, INUKAI did not voluntarily nominate YAMAOKA, Mannosuke, a follower of SUZUKI and most trusted by Baron HIRANUMA, to the Kanto government office, according to what I heard.

INUKAI persistently said: "War Minister ARAKI was the nominator of YAMAOKA. It would be better to get a man who could harmonize with the military for the Kanto government office." It was War Minister ARAKI and Overseas Affairs Minister HATA, Toyosuke who selected YAMAOKA, Mannosuke. In short, the selection of prefectural governors up till now has been conducted so that those labelled as adherents of SUZUKI were not selected if it could be avoided. Therefore, the reputation of the personnel selected for prefectural governors was comparatively good.

It seemed that because the dissatisfaction of the SUZUKI clique was so great, YAMAOKA had to be selected in one way or another before things would calm down. His reputation in the Seiyukai was unsavoury and his selection was unsatisfactory, but it seemed unavoidable.

There were persistent rumours among the populace, or more likely the Seiyukai, to the effect that: "In any

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event, the Korean Government-General will force the resignation of IMAIDA, the Chief Civil Administrator of Korea" or "IMAIDA will resign." It is true that two or three persons indirectly asked of Government-General UGAKI: "Make the Chief Civil Administrator resign." When IMAIDA came to Tokyo, Overseas Affairs Minister HATA met him and because they had been intimate friends before, directly asked: "Will you resign for us?" IMAIDA replied: "My actions are up to the Government-General. I cannot decide this way or that. However, if the demands are great, shall I confer with him?" But HATA replied: "Wait a moment; don't mention this to UGAKI." All of this I heard from Governor-General UGAKI.

General UGAKI continued: "Chief Secretary MORI and his group were quite boisterous in demanding: "Make IMAIDA resign" and they even put it before the Premier. Therefore, I called on the Premier and said: "There are all sorts of stories to the effect that two or three persons, through others, are seeking the resignation of IMAIDA. There are also persons questioning my actions now. These things mean little to me, but from the Korean administrative standpoint, the influence wielded on the public feeling is very great. If you truly wish me to stay and if you are thinking of leaving the administration as it is, will you do something to stop them from talking? Even if you are of the intention of proceeding in this way, can you restrain HATA and still go on? I am very concerned about this matter.' INUKAI replied: 'I will do my utmost to restrain such talk, so please stay on without saying these things.' I continued: 'And another matter I'd like to discuss is that during the

previous Cabinet, it was decided, as the government policy and as a Government-General policy, to abolish three or four law courts in Korea. And the fact that the Overseas Affairs Minister has approved their reinstatement, at the request of petitioners, without a word to the Government-General, is indeed a loss of countenance. Such things must be admonished against. And another point, which I will emphasize is that I may have to resign if circumstances arise requiring me to ponder over my actions as the result of various investigations into the Emperor Disrespect Incident. Because the Government-General of Korea maintains an agency at Shanghai for control of Korean migration and an agency in Hyogo-Ken for surveillance of Koreans, I, as Governor-General, feel terpidation over this incident. If you can eventually meet my requests on these two points of business and political matters, I have nothing more to say on this matter and will continue in office. Pending the investigation on the Emperor Disrespect Incident, I would like to reserve action and return to my work." This was told me by UGAKI when I met him before he left for Korea on January 15th.

Because of these matters there is a very good possibility that UGAKI's resignation may be tendered. Because I felt the necessity for knowing such things, I asked rather pointedly: "What will you do if the Emperor rejects your resignation and wishes you to continue in office?" UGAKI replied: "That will be troublesome. But I might still have to resign." I am inclined to think the resignation is but a matter of time.

It was finally decided that MINAMI, Hiroshi was to

be Governor-General of Formosa. There was talk of boldness in connection with the nomination in one quarter--" Because Governor-General OTA would not submit a resignation, the Chief Secretariat expelled Chief Commissioner KINOSHITA, Susumu. It was a very bold step." So when I went to Okitsu with these colonial administrative problems, namely those concerning the change in personnel demanded for the prefectural governorship of Kanto and the Governments-General of Korea and Formosa, the Prince replied: "It is a very unhappy situation. Such demands are actually furnishing the repudiators of political parties with materials for attacks and are very embarrassing. They must understand these circumstances a bit more or we will be in trouble."

This is on a little different phase, but a few days before the Prince asked: "Have you heard anything concerning a congratulatory reception being tendered for Prince KAN-IN on his appointment as Chief of the General Staff?" Not having looked at the newspaper very closely, I said: "No, I have not."

He said: "Well, it's in the papers. It appears that the sponsors have very dishonest motives. Even if the motives are pure, such things are not very favourable. I don't think it advisable for him to accept the invitation. What do you think?" Because I was not aware that such plans had advanced so far, I said: "Shall I smash itup?" However, lacking the required strength, I asked: "Will it be all right if I convey your views?" Because he said: "Yes", I immediately had Intendent INAGAKI come and he said: "Tomorrow the committee is supposed to come. Until now it looked like a very small group, but because

it is being sponsored by such a large group, he cannot very well refuse."

I replied: "Prince KAN-IN, being the advisor and senior in the Imperial family, should say: "lease put an end to such things," in any case when the favour of the Imperial family is sought or when it will lead to such a result. It is proper that he should stop it quickly, but in this case, he may be unable to avoid it since it has gone so far. However, will you tell him that the Prince is deeply concerned and that he said, 'It is very unsavoury that you should accept - especially will it be so if you appear at the reception and address it.'" To which Lieut. General INAGAKI said: "It will be considered further," and went home.

I conveyed the Prince's opinion to the Imperial Household Minister and asked his views. He said: "We cannot force him to decline at this stage. However, if he does not appear at the reception and he takes his oath of office from INAGAKI at the Palace, it may do just as well."

I phoned MATSUDAIRA, Keimin and he was of the same feeling after a long conversation. INAGAKI called at the Imperial Household Ministry to confer and it was decided that it would be left to Prince KAN-IN's own discretion after the opinions of the Imperial Household Minister and Prince SAIONJI are dwelt on. When Prince KAN-IN's decision was asked by INAGAKI after he had given the particulars, Prince KAN-IN replied: "I am grateful for Prince SAIONJI's concern. However, I must appear at the reception hall after their very enthusiastic good wishes" So it finally ended up in his decision to appear at the

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reception.

Because it was said to have a wide backing, I looked into it and found that only two or three or four members of the Diet had agreed to the plan. But the names of the House of Peers and the House of Representative were used. Prominent members of the Diet were not included and even the individual names of sponsors were not listed. Even INAGAKI could not understand the backing of such groups as the Kojimachi branch of the Imperial Reservist Association, Imperial Women's Association and various newspapers. Because such so-called prominent figures as TOKUTOMI, Soho were mentioned as sponsors, little consideration was given to the merits of the plan by those joining the procession. It seemed that INAGAKI was impressed since he said when he came: "Because the backing is so great, transcending even political parties and factions and including the House of Peers, House of Representatives, Minseito, Seiyukai, and Chief Secretariat----"

What I especially reflected was that no matter how good a man may be, care must be taken in the selection of an intendent if he is liable to over-simplification and especially if he is from the military.

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Chapter 26
(18 January 1932)

Wanted: Election Funds

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

When I met NAKAHASHI, just recently, he said: "I had intended to become the Finance Minister. I had just about occupied the seat of the Finance Minister, when these sudden changes took place. If I had become the Finance Minister, I would have changed all the head officers of those special banks, and I had thought of sinking a large sum of money into this election, but I was not selected and TAKAHASHI cannot do anything like it. The trouble with the present government is that there is no fund to defray the election expenses, so I put up ¥1,000,000 from my personal property of ¥2,500,000. MITSUI will probably put up a certain amount, but INUKAI will handle that in all probability, so I will not act. Thinking that MITSUBISHI and SUMITOMO might come through, I talked with OGURA, but he replied: 'That is absolutely impossible. Because we have never contributed to either party, it is troublesome. If you insist on speaking that way, I shall ask Prince SAIONJI' I replied. He answered, 'It is not likely that Prince SAIONJI will permit such actions.' It seems hopeless, but what is your opinion?" I replied: "Your proposal is absolutely no good. Prince SAIONJI, for a long time, has insisted to SUMITOMO: 'You must never become embroiled in politics. SUMITOMO must always maintain a neutral status and must never become enmeshed in politics.' So it will do you no good." He replied: "Is that so. I had completed all other preparations, but I had not counted on that——". He seemed very perturbed. MORI

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says: "Whichever way it may be, we must get started," but it seems that TAKAHASHI has no such intention.

INUKAI and DAN were to meet, but because DAN was ill, they could not meet immediately. However, they will meet sooner or later. DAN seems to intend to contribute, though unwillingly. Others are uncertain. The Industrial Club's opposition to INOUYE was very great, but they will probably give DAN considerable assistance.

According to INUKAI's story: "To have KUHARA and his group bring up the MATSUSHIMA Prostitution Scandal would be embarrassing. I may be too finicky, but I do not wish to use such objectionable matters. But if I do that, there are not many other places where I can obtain the money. With whom shall I speak about SUMITOMO?" To which I replied: "That is not good. It is absolutely impossible. I have said so to SUMITOMO; however, after Prince SAIONJI's death, you may be oppressed by both sides ——" (discontinued taking shorthand).

A few days previously, having business at both the Foreign Office and the War Ministry, I called the Director of the Police Bureau and others to Prince KONOYE's residence where Prince KONOYE, KIDO and I were present. When HORI called and said: "Please wait for me because I have some very important things to discuss," we waited. He said: "We cannot leave the Kwantung Army as it is. I think something must be done to brace it up right now. The other matter is about the problems concerning the dissolution of the Cabinet; both are very important. The dissolution problem, be that as it may, can wait, but something must be done about the Kwantung Army. In this case, if the Emperor

decides on its future course——" He was in a very great hurry.

He continued: "I made a great mistake. INUKAI has been misjudged. He has some unexpectedly weak points. In the first place, the necessity for the dissolution of the Diet is understood. It would have been fine had SUZUKI been selected as Home Minister. I said: 'If not SUZUKI, retain TOKONAMI. The dissolution cannot be carried out unless the person has considerable experience in Home Administration.' However, NAKAHASHI was selected. That was the great mistake. Because of the selection of NAKAHASHI, there has truly been no one who has tried to help INUKAI out with MAYEDA who has, heretofore, been rebellious toward INUKAI, MITO, and such other parliamentary vice-ministers as UCHIDA. I have endeavored to help him and SUZUKI has done the same, but he is lax to begin with. His actions become slow. I am greatly troubled, thinking him such a great failure." Because he talked incessantly in this vein, I said: "Please wait a moment for I will go to meet Prince SAIONJI and talk with him."

When I met the Foreign Ministry group, TANI said: "If something isn't done about the Manchurian problem, the military is doing everything in the expectation of building a new state on February 11th, Empire Day, while we are hesitating. YOSHIDA has been observing the situation, but something must be done to bring it under control. MORI, talking to TANI had said: 'There is nothing else to do, but to form a committee composed of HIRANUMA'S group with ITO, Miyoji as the head of the committee in order to control future development.' However, it would

be disagreeable to have HIRANUMA and ITO as committee head at the present time. It would cause unnecessary developments." TANI continued: "I had to see YOSHIZAWA at once, but they insisted: 'Please ask the Premier to encourage YOSHIZAWA for he is hesitating over the American question.' So I called on the Premier. When I said; 'These are the circumstances——,' he replied: 'I shall speak to YOSHIZAWA, but will you also encourage him along with me?' The Premier also said: 'Please ask HARADA to settle the differences between SHIRATORI and the Foreign Minister, TANI.'" I replied: 'I shall do my utmost to accomplish this, but if the Premier does not select the head of a committee, nobody will join the committee. Please do it with that in mind.' Cognizant of this, the Premier said: 'I will not select HIRANUMA or ITO' and he asked: 'Please explain the situation to Prince SAIONJI'."

I said to INUKAI, Ken: "Heavens, when I spoke to NAKAHASHI, he said: 'In the preparations necessary for the election, the candidate factor has been taken care of, but we cannot obtain the money. I had intended to speak to MITSUI, but the Company insists that the Premier do so himself. Even though I have finally been able to raise about one million yen, it is hardly enough and something must be done. If we cannot raise the money, I think we ought to abandon the idea of dissolution. If the clamor becomes boisterous, we will proceed by ignoring it. I spoke to OGURA of Sumitomo through HORI, Keijiro, but was refused.' Even Prince SAIONJI says it is hopeless. Just what is the situation?" Ken replied: "KUHARA and YAMAMOTO are both dirty persons whom you

cannot set hands on. I will speak to DAN within two or three days," but I gave notice that Prince SAIONJI thinks it hopeless. The following day (Jan. 17th) I told the Prince about what had taken place and he replied: "I shall excuse myself from meeting MORI right away. However, I shall speak to the Premier about controlling the Manchurian problem. How about letting the Premier have a free hand? Without the formation of a committee——."

When I spoke to him about the conversation I had with MORI, he said: "This Cabinet may not last much longer. The Army will do its utmost to strengthen its military activities. What a lot of trouble. Even the recent talks about Prince KAN-IN's reception is like that. It's not so good because it is on such a big scale; it would be better if it were just the Army."

(When I met Governor-General UGAKI, he too, had cautioned Prince KAN-IN at the time of his appointment, it seems.)

The Prince asked: "Just what is UGAKI proposing to do?"

The Prince continued: "In case this Cabinet fails, INOUYE may be all right, but how would it be to allow UGAKI to carry on with the joint efforts of the Minseito, even though the Army maintains that UGAKI is no good? We must begin publicizing UGAKI from now on. Because the Army is presently embarrassed about its future course, what do you think of my plan to support UGAKI?"

I replied: "I personally think INOUYE will do, but what is the Army's opinion?" The Prince replied: "I don't think much of him. It will be disturbing to have it become hopeless in case of emergency, with HAYASHI

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maintaining that all is well. Therefore, I am thinking of allowing UGAKI to straighten out the situation."

Without forming a coalition with the Minseito, UGAKI may be handed an Imperial Command. Anyhow, INOUYE is very unpopular with the IndustrialClub and with business circles. And there are matters over which INOUYE and the Seiyukai do not agree. The lay is for UGAKI 60% and against 40%. Last evening when I talked with INOUYE, Saburo and Lt. Col. SUZUKI, they said that there were also a great many supporters for ARAKI. Even the Military Affairs Section Chief is supporting ARAKI. KOISO is sly; he goes for UGAKI. If the young militarists are whipped up, they may go along. There is a certain amount of speculation, but that may be all for the better. I think it would be wise if a promise is exacted from UGAKI that he will not team up with ADACHI. Just at that time KIDO, worrying over the situation, came and said: "It is necessary that the strange coalition does not develop." I replied: "I can send MATSUMOTO Gaku to Korea if a letter will be satisfactory." To which KIDO replied: "It is not good to have an intermediary. Prince SAIONJI was made the scapegoat by ADACHI and his group for the last incident."

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 27
(26 January 1932)

Imperial Cortege Bombed

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

On January 8, 1932 at 11:00 A.M., while thinking of going to the Foreign Ministry, I saw that they were cleaning up the route of the Emperor's return from the military parade. Thinking very little of it, I entered the Foreign Ministry and walked through the offices of the Chief of Asiatic Affairs and the Chief of Information. Just as I reached the room of the Chief of Asiatic Affairs, I heard the noise of the Imperial cortege returning. After that, I went home.

Just when I had decided to board the 1:00 P.M. train for Okitsu, someone came and said: "Do you know what the bang was just now?" When I said: "What's the matter?", he said: "Some scoundrels like the Reservists, just now threw a bomb at the Imperial cortege."

I was undecided whether to go to Okitsu or to find out more about it. Deciding to find out the circumstances, I phoned the residence of the Imperial Household Minister IKKI just when he returned to change his clothing. Moreover, he seemed to have a touch of cold and was at home. I asked: "Shall I delay going to Okitsu on the 1:00 P.M. train until I find out more about the hurling of a bomb into the Imperial cortege?" IKKI said: "That will not be necessary. It will not be cleared up right away, and it doesn't matter if we talk about it over the phone."

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Imperial Cortege Bombed

I was almost decided on going to the Premier's residance and---- but thinking it better to leave for Okitsu, I boarded the 1: P.M. train. Because I was famished I entered the dining car before we arrived and was eating ravenously when a station master and his assistant came in. I thought it was for the purpose of a New Year's greeting, but he informed me: "Just now there was a call for you from the Premier who wants you to return immediately."

Without even settling my account, I jumped off and reached Shimbashi at 2:15 P.M. Immediately I went to the Premier's official residence, where I unexpectedly met Count YAMAMOTO, who said: "You still kicking around?" When I replied: "I guess I'll do this kind of thing all my life," he answered: "Is Prince SAIONJI coming down?" I answered: "Since he is in bad health, he cannot do anything right away." He commented: "Well, if he's alive, it's all right." Thus he showed off his typically august self in front of the Premier.

When I met the Premier, he said: "Count YAMAMOTO came to tell me: 'The circumstances of today's incident and the Toranomon Incident which I observed in 1923 are quite different. Therefore, if the resignation is tendered immediately because of this incident, it would be disagreeable, so how about the Premier asking the Emperor about his course of action?' This was Count YAMAMOTO's advice, but I think it strange to subnit an informal resignation. What do you think?"

I replied: "Informal resignations should not be

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tendered by a Premier and I think that nothing but an official resignation should be submitted. At the time of the TANAKA Cabinet when TANAKA submitted an informal resignation because of the Imperial Message Issue, the Imperial circle seemed to have had considerable trouble handling it. Because the Imperial circle must be quite concerned in this case, I shall investigate for their convenience. So I attended a Cabinet meeting.

I said: "Just a little while ago Count YAMAMOTO came to the Premier's residence and advised thus---." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "That is indeed a mess of trouble. Informal resignations are just what you say they are. Count YAMAMOTO does not know the particulars very well. Of course, informal resignations are out of the question; however, the course of action to be followed will be the responsibility of the Cabinet." Even though the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal seemed very composed, it seemed that he was desirous of having the Cabinet decide on its attitude as quickly as possible. While I was still there, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal appeared before the Emperor at his convenience and paid his respects to the Emperor.

Immediately thereafter, I went back to the Premier's residence and told him: "Informal resignations are entirely out of the question, but I think it best that this Cabinet should clarify its position." Because several of the Cabinet colleagues were traveling, it seemed that nothing could be definitely decided upon. When I spoke to INUKAI, Ken and others, I

found that the would-be assasin was a Korean, etc. Finally, it was decided that mass resignation of the Cabinet would be tendered. I phoned KIDO: "It seems that they are finally decided upon mass resignation," and warned him.

I decided to depart from Shimbashi at 7:30 P.M. on the train. KIDO phoned: "The Cabinet has finally decided to resign and has appeared before the Emperor to present its resignation." Since the Emperor desires to make inquiries of the Prince, the Grand Chamberlain will also depart for Shizuoka on the 7:30 train. In order to escape from the annoying eyes of the public, it seems, he will board the train from Yokohama.

At any rate, the Grand Chamberlain came on board when I reached Yokohama on the 7:30 train. We conversed lengthily on various subjects and when we reached Shizuoka, we rode together on the car to Okitsu which we reached at 12:15 A.M.

The Prince talked with the Grand Chamberlain approximately half an hour, while I spoke with the Prefectural Governor and the Chief of Police whom I had invited to the office. About 30 minutes later, the maid entered and said that the Prince was requesting my presence. However, the business of the Imperial inquiries being over, he decided to feed the Grand Chamberlain and I because the night was cold. The Grand Chamberlain told the Prince during the dinner conversation: "The Emperor's attitude as regards this incident is really splendid. After I went to pay my respects: 'I am filled with trepidation over today's

happening.' After that I said: 'The perpetrator was a Korean of such and such a name' and he replied: 'He must be from the Korean Independence Party,' while chuckling to himself. He said: 'The American Ambassador was supposed to come to the Premier's place this afternoon, what was the result?' He questioned me at length on the ordinary and usual government business and he said: 'Please make an immediate inquiry of the Foreign Ministry.' It was just like any other ordinary day."

The Prince said: "That is very splendid. Even while it was shaking during the great earthquake, he went out on the veranda, and thinking of those close to him, he said: 'It is very fortunate that both the Emperor and Empress are not in Tokyo.' And that came out very naturally; that trait is one of his noble virtues."

After talking for about an hour, the Grand Chamberlain left at 2:00 A.M. and boarded the 2:50 train from Shizuoka for Tokyo. I was thinking of retiring to my hotel, but the Prince said: "I have a little more business with you so please stay and talk." Therefore, I stayed a little less than an hour, at which time he said: "It is the Emperor's wish, in today's inquiries, that this Cabinet remain. Thinking it to be a very good idea, I answered in that vein." He continued: "At times like this, there are often questions of whom to exchange with whom and whom to compel to resign, but---"

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 28
(8 February 1932)

Inukai Cabinet Retained

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

Prince SAIONJI continued: "If such things are done, the Cabinet will not last very long. It was very unfortunate to have the YAMAMOTO Cabinet resign like that, because of that incident, saying they cannot bear the apprehension. Furthermore, it was very irresponsible of them. Even if the Home Minister is of the mind that since it was within his jurisdiction he'd like to resign, we must try to avoid it entirely. If the Imperial wish had been, 'Remain and exert every effort!' I think it would be reason enough for them consientiously to shoulder their responsibilities and to exert themselves and to stay in order to fulfill their duties as loyal subjects. Besides being the chief administrative official in the Home Ministry, the Home Minister has the great responsibility as a minister of state and we cannot help it if we are asked why the Premier and the rest of the Cabinet did not do likewise. Therefore, in this case, if the Home Minister does resign, I think we must avoid a political change even if we have to replace him. They may attempt to make changes, I think, but if they do I will willingly beat them down."
(The Prince's statement was very serious)

He continued: "In general, it is said that the Emperor transcends the Constitution, but where except in the Constitution, is his existence justified? In short, the articles of the Constitution state that the Emperor is the sovereign-- the position of the

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Emperor has been clearly stated and the Emperor himself has clarified that point, hasn't he?

"Whether they be the Home Minister or the head of any Ministry, as Ministers they must shoulder responsibility, and to have them unanimously separate themselves from responsibility as a minister of state to function only as an administrative head would be unfavourable. In cases like this, the actual responsibility may extend as far as the Superintendent-General of the Metropolitan Police and the Director of the Police Bureau and they may have to resign. However, in this case, there is no necessity for the Home Minister to say anything about it, I think."

Because it was about 3:00 A.M. and because I feared that I might have tired him, I returned to my hotel. I immediately called Chief Secretary NOH in Tokyo in response to his request: "Will you keep me informed about the situation?" Thinking it opportune I said: "This is just my opinion, but they seemed decided on going ahead as now. The Prince did not tell me to tell you this, but even if the Cabinet were to remain, it would not last for very long if the Home Minister were to resign because of responsibility, or if changes were to be made within the Cabinet which would be fairly easy to accomplish. As the administrative head of the Home Ministry as well as a minister of state, the Home Minister must, like any minister of state, shoulder the responsibility of assisting the others. If the Emperor's wish in this case is specifically to remain, then it would be a fulfilment of responsibility if redoubled efforts are exerted. To

resign solely because of the weight of apprehensions will not necessarily be the fulfilment of the duties of a loyal subject to the public. Because it seems best in this case not to change anyone within the Cabinet or to replace anyone, nothing should be changed at present."

Because of the situation, MORI said: "Disregarding public opinion, we shall do this; however, it may be hard to convince the Home Minister."

After that I phoned INUKAI, Ken and transmitted the same story. He said: "KAWARADA and the Premier are now in conference, but I think that the Home Minister is going to quit. What can be done about it? I wish you would talk directly with MORI rather than ADACHI concerning leaving the Cabinet intact without anyone resigning or anyone being replaced." When I told him that I had already spoken to MORI, he seemed very well satisfied. I heard later that this was because MORI was still trying to put in SUZUKI, Kisaburo as Home Minister and he was right in the midst of such endeavors.

Then I received a phone call from MORI: "The Home Minister is maintaining that he must resign and will not listen to reason. Will you say something about it to him?" I sensed that MORI had in mind the fact that Home Minister NAKAHASHI would never listen to him and that was why he had asked me. MORI continued: "The War Minister says that he intends to reassume office, but he is also being difficult." Therefore, I phoned Navy Minister OSUMI and I told him the story as I had INUKAI and MORI: "Will you

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handle the War Minister for us?" The Navy Minister seemed to be of the same feeling, when he said: "I will endeavor toward that end," and ended the call.

When I phoned MAKAHASHI, he was out, but I got his wife and told her: "For him to resign without much of a pretext is disagreable. I feel that it is best for him to remain, so I'm saying it." She replied: "Is that the Prince's instruction?" To which I answered: "The Prince will never say this way or that. It is by no means his words or his instructions. Because I had been intimate with him before, I thought I'd like to have you mention to him that it is what I sensed in my conversation with the Prince. I will have more details for him when we meet, but please have him change his mind about resigning. The reasons can come later." Mrs. MAKAHASHI said: "At any rate I will convey your instructions to my husband. I understand very well."

After that I took a short rest and went to the Prince's at 10:30 A.M.; I said: "After the Grand Chamberlain left at 2:00 A.M. last evening, we had a long talk and it may have been presumptous of me but I phoned these certain places about that conversation because it was worrying me. But I intimated that I was simply expressing my own feelings." The Prince replied: "You could have told HORI: 'Tell him SAIONJI was speaking in that vein,' and it would have been all right."

When I phoned the Premier's residence about 11:00 A.M., they said: "The Premier is presently in the Imperial presence," and that he was presenting the resignation

papers for three ministers. Later after I had lunch at the Prince's, I phoned the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal who said: "The resignations tendered this morning were all rejected and a Cabinet meeting is now in session." At 1:30 P.M., the Premier appeared at the Imperial investiture ceremony and said: "We will remain in office as Your Majesty desires."

The Prince was greatly relieved: "I'm glad it went off all right," and at 1:40 P.M., I boarded the train for Tokyo.

Everywhere I went I heard: "It is exceedingly suspicious how the resignation over the Emperor Disrespect Incident by the Korean was halted by the Imperial message. Prince SAIONJI must be in his second childhood." I heard this sort of thing even from the officials in the Foreign Office. Former minister EMOTO and his group said: "Is Prince SAIONJI sick? When KATO, Takaaki formed a three-party Cabinet and during its term of office when the two ministers, OGAWA and OZAKI from the Seiyukai resigned, the whole Cabinet resigned. However, by Imperial reappointment, he formed a new Cabinet. Because of the fear of later complications, it was decided that an Imperial reappointment was better than an Imperial request to stay in office and the matter was laid before the Emperor for his sanction. Just what does this present Imperial request mean? For the Imperial Court's cause, this is lamentable." I hear this sort of talk very boisterously from other sources.

When I went to Okitsu, I said: "You are being attacked by various groups, who ask whether or not

you are in your second childhood. They are suspicious of the Cabinet remaining in office at the request of the Emperor."

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Chapter 29
(16 February 1932)

Prelude to Shanghai

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

To this the Prince replied: "Since the words 'Special Will of the Emperor' are likely to be misunderstood, what does it matter whether it is an Imperial message or otherwise. I think they are saying these things because the circumstances at the time of the KATO Cabinet and at present differ in numerous ways and because they do not understand the fundamental spirit of the Constitution. The haphazard voicing of: 'It is proper to resign by saying such things as "I am filled with trepidation" or "I cannot make atonement" or "I must invariably resign"," are just hangovers from those days of absolute monarchism when the Emperor's favour, patronage, and caprices were carried to gain one's end. Therefore, they are claiming that it is best that they resign from their office by saying, 'It was inexcusable' and 'I am filled with trepidation'. That is, it may be thought of as one way of fulfilling one's obligation as a loyal subject. Instead of regarding one's duty of responsible assistance to the Emperor and the people seriously, if the state minister is controlled by the latent feeling of improving his status by Imperial grace or patronage, then such criticism as seeking refuge behind the Emperor's favour and other such things will be levied against him. In considering the responsibility of a state minister, I think you will be fulfilling your duties as a state minister of a constitutional government, and also as a loyal subject, if you redouble your efforts and fulfil your renewed responsibility by stay-

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ing on your job when the Emperor requests: 'Stay at your job.'"

When I returned to Tokyo, I called on the Imperial Household Minister and told him that numerous questions were being asked about why it was an Imperial message instead of an Imperial reappointment. The Imperial Household Minister asked: "From a legal standpoint, is there any difference between an Imperial reappointment and an Imperial request to remain in office? The point is that they have been ordered to remain by the Imperial Will, and that they are staying in office in obedience to this Imperial will. The Opposition Party may say that they are seeking refuge behind the Imperial cloak, but I think they are abiding by the Imperial Will by remaining in office and carrying out their respnsibility."

When I later met Home Minister NAKAHASHI, he relayed to me the latest developments and I told him that the Prince thought it wholly correct that the entire Cabinet should remain in office.

About January 16, just before I left for Okitsu, I talked with Chief Cabinet Secretary MORI, who excitedly said: "What I would like to discuss at any opportune time with the Prince are the matters concerning the Manchurian-Mongolian problem and the coming dissolution of the Diet. I think that we cannot bear much longer the aggravation of the Manchurian-Mongolian problem by the Army. And I am of the opinion that it is time that the Emperor took a hand in the restoration of Army authority." He continued: "Because of the importance of the Manchurian problem, the Emperor should appoint a committee

aside from the Cabinet with an influential man at its helm to do something to curb the Army's indiscretion."

On the way home from the talk with MORI, I went to the Foreign Ministry and related to TANI the talk I had just had. The Chief of the Asiatic Bureau said: "MORI is persistently saying that because he wants either HIRANUMA or SUZUKI to become the leader of that committee." I immediately rushed to the Premier's residence and told INUKAI, Ken: "I just heard this from MORI, but according to TANI, MORI's true motives were to establish either HIRANUMA, SUZUKI, or ITO, Miyoji as the committee head. If such a thing happened, the Cabinet would only be shouldering a cumbersome duty. Such a committee will not be able to do anything conclusive about the Manchurian problem; therefore, MORI is saying this and that because of nothing more than the personalities involved. If such a committee were to be formed, brush it aside by taking the initiative and stating that it would be agreeable if the Premier were to be a member." So saying the above as a warning, I went home.

Thereafter, I did not perceive any development of this question, but just grumbling by MORI. But in regard to the dissolution problem, he maintained that it was a very serious mistake to have retained NAKAHASHI as the Home Minister. It was sheer folly to let an inexperienced man like NAKAHASHI handle the dissolution question. According to MORI's story, he had insisted that SUZUKI must be retained as the Home Minister when the Cabinet was formed. He had insisted: "If SUZUKI won't do, TOKONAMI will do."

"I insisted to the Premier that it was very neces-

sary that a Home Minister who had had experience in home affairs administration and in general elections be retained. He is no good in many ways," he complained bitterly.

Later I called on Baron YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo for the first time in a long while. I called on him to discuss the reinstatement of ADACHI in the Minseito, which had been variously discussed by the newspapers. Baron YAMAMOTO said: "Because Count KIYOURA seemed concerned I sent TANAKA, Ryuzo to the Count's Atami villa to discuss this matter. After lengthy conversation, it seemed very difficult to press ADACHI's reinstatement at this time. I had TANAKA say that it is not timely and that it would be very difficult. When Count KIYOURA returned to Tokyo he invited SAKURAUCHI to his home and requested his support in the reinstatement of ADACHI, but SAKURAUCHI likewise would not have anything to do with it saying that it was untimely."

This and that happened, but nothing came of the plan for ADACHI's reinstatement. About the 28th of January, I received a phone call from the Vice-Minister of the Navy saying that he wished to see me right away, but I replied: "I will go." The Vice-Minister said: "I was asked by the Navy Minister to talk to you about this matter and to ask you to take it up with Prince SAIONJI. Chief of Naval General Staff, TAKAHASHI, has expressed his wish to resign and it was finally decided that he may do so. We have searched for his successor with great pains, but from among the Supreme War Councillors we have only Admiral YAMAMOTO, Eisuke. However, even in the Navy, Admiral YAMAMOTO does not have a good

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reputation, and that would not do for a Chief of the Naval General Staff. That would leave Admirals ABE, KATO, Kanji, OKADA and others of the like, and finally it was inevitable that Prince FUSHIMI be chosen. Since it has been decided that the Prince is to be the Chief of the Naval General Staff, we would like Prince SAIONJI to understand that the choice was unavoidable."

The Vice-Minister persistently requested: "Please do not meet the Navy Minister directly." Because I had spoken to the Navy Minister (OSUMI) previously when Prince KAN-IN had been appointed Chief of the Army General Staff and also because I had conveyed Prince SAIONJI's idea that it would be undesirable to use the prestige of the name of the Imperial Family, OSUMI might have worried that I might say something if I met him personally. When I went to Okitsu and told the Prince this, he said: "He must be very cautious that he is not making a mistake, but I wonder if anything can be done about selecting the Prince? What a lot of trouble." He was very displeased about the whole matter, but he did not press the Ministers this way or that by intervening. However, he said: "We must be as cautious as possible in view of what may happen in the future." And I returned to Tokyo.

When I called on Admiral OKADA, he said: "There are some facts concerning the appointment of Prince FUSHIMI as the Chief of the Naval General Staff which are very troubling. Former Navy Minister ABO and Admiral OSUMI are also troubled. After the signing of the London Naval Treaty, a group of reserve and retired officers did considerable maneuvering to place Prince FUSHIMI as the

Chief of the Naval General Staff and with Admiral TOGO at their head they made TOGO expound such plans. As Navy Minister he must abide by Admiral TOGO's words. I do not think that this is a very favourable situation, but we all agreed, saying that we would take considerable precautions in order that the Prince would not be hurt." Thus he told me the inside story.

When I met the Navy Minister some two or three days later he stated that it was very unpleasant to have the Prince as Chief of the Naval General Staff. Should the occasion arise after he assumes the position for which he must be held responsible, it would be very critical if the Imperial Court were involved and misfortune wrought on them. It would be very desirable if the Prince did not assume a responsible position. Especially in view of the fact that before the London Naval Treaty, Admiral KATO and his group desired to submit a plan to the Emperor through Prince FUSHIMI. When Prince FUSHIMI sought an audience with the Emperor with, "I would like to discuss the London Naval Treaty," The Emperor immediately replied: "This is no time to discuss it," and declined the audience. It is a fact that the Emperor dispatched his aide-de-camp to the Prince's Palace to say: "In spite of your honest desire, I must as the Emperor decline to hear you."

As the result of various circumstances, the Prince was finally sworn in as Chief of the Naval General Staff at the beginning of February and it was announced to the public.

Toward the end of January, Superintendent-General of the Metropolitan Police HASEGAWA was forced to quit

because of some foolish incident. It happened when he was addressing some chiefs of police stations. Because the text seemed very unusual the news reporters questioned him. Either because his attitude was insincere or because the interview was incoherent HASEGAWA was about to be censured by the Newspapermen's Association. Just when they were drawing up this resolution of denunciation, HASEGAWA came in and said: "Please put a stop to such a measure. In its stead I shall reward you with a good lead." He laid bare loathsome details of the private dealings of former Railways Minister EMOTO. By some means he hoped to win them back, but that was a very serious mistake. Eventually those details appeared in the papers and his ability was questioned, making his resignation inevitable. His successor was Chief of the Local Affairs Bureau, ONO, Rokuichiro of the Home Ministry.

For the three vacancies in the Privy Council, MOTODA, KUBOTA, and KURIHARA were selected. When the Minseito was in power, they had stated: "Party members will not be selected", and in spite of the fact that such personalities as TAKETOMI, Tokitoshi and IZUMA, Takiwo were rejected MOTODA and the others from the ranks of the party were retained, well exemplifying the unfair attitude of the present Privy Council.

On February 1, I was summoned by the Navy Minister who told me that he had organized an expeditionary fleet with Vice-Admiral NOMURA as its Commander-in-Chief. The ceremony for Imperial installation was to be held at 2:00 P.M. of the same day. The question of dispatching troops to Shanghai was to be submitted to the Cabinet meeting on

Feb. 2 and the time for the troop dispatch was to be decided on by the War and Navy Ministers. The chief task of the troops, to number approximately one division, was the protection of Japanese nationals in China. The Foreign Minister was to request secretly again the mediation of the American and British Ambassadors for the termination of hostilities. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was very worried about this dispatching of troops and when he requested that I call, he said: "When I met the Premier today, I suggested that the best and safest method was to evacuate the Japanese nationals from Shanghai and to let the incident blow over without sending in troops. If we were to fail in Shanghai everything we have accomplished on the Manchurian-Mongolian problem will come to nil. It is especially so in Shanghai because it is a cosmopolitan metropolis and natters will be annoying because of it.

"The Navy was cautious not only in Shanghai, but also on the banks of the Yangtze River and had sent Captain TAYUI to observe. The Navy Minister had sent the following instruction: 'The silence of the Japanese Navy indicates its power. It does not follow that it is Japan's best policy to act in the same manner in Southern China as the Army is acting in Manchuria.' Just when they were thus worried, the incident involving the travelling Nichiren priest unexpectedly caused the whole uproar. Because everyone regrets such happenings very much, we must see to it that it does not spread beyond the scope of protection for the nationals, even though the troops are sent out. Collaboration with other powers will be maintained as much as possible and

when the Incident is finished, we will immediately withdraw our troops.

"Once the Army is dispatched there is liable to arise the question of the prerogative of Supreme Command; therefore, because it is clear that there may be tendencies to increase the number of troops or to advance without consulting the Cabinet, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal is deeply concerned and I would like Prince SAIONJI to warn the Cabinet emphatically about the precautions necessary."

From the Foreign Ministry I heard: "We must not err in our basic policy, that is, we must not go beyond the protection of our nationals." The Finance Ministry said: "From the viewpoint of finance and of the international position of Japan, it is best that we evacuate the nationals even if it costs ¥100,000,000. If we send troops out, that amount will never be enough." That which we must be concerned about most is that the troops which go to the rescue of our nationals may meet with resistance and counter-attacks, and from strategic considerations, the Army may have to attack their bases. Giving the above as a reason, the Army may advance deeper and deeper, taking Nanking, advancing to Loyang and thence to Suchow. Such things were greatly feared by all.

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Chapter 30
(16 February 1932)

Hoover's Warming

Translated by Mikio Asano

When I returned after talking with the aforementioned people, rumors became rampant that: "A Senior Statesmen's Conference will be convened," or "Prince SAIONJI will be summoned by the Emperor." They were the usual rumors.

At this time the United States had offered a 5-article proposal for arbitrating the Sino-Japanese problems; the final article comprised an item offering a solution of the Manchurian problems. This was entirely unacceptable to the Japanese Government. There was no need to answer this U.S. proposal. Nevertheless, the Japanese Government replied as follows.

"1. The Chinese Army must cease their challenging and disturbing actions immediately and completely. Should this be confirmed, the Japanese forces will cease military actions. The Japanese forces shall reserve freedom for unrestricted action, in case Chinese forces -- the regular Army or guerrila corps -- should take challenging or disturbing actions.

"2. In view of the unreliability of Chinese actions in the past and of the present serious circumstances, the Japanese Government must inevitably mobilize Japan's forces and take preparatory measures for warfare.

"3. The Japanese Government has no objection to delegating to the Japanese Consul (at Shanghai) and the Japanese Commander-in-Chief of the forces at the site (of the incident) the right of negotiating

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(with the Chinese Government) to disengage the combatant forces of both nations, and if necessary to establish a neutral zone in the Chapei district.

"4. The Japanese Government considers the Manchurian problem and the Shanghai Incident as definitively unrelated matters."

Later, when I met the Premier, he said: "On the matter of transporting troops (to Shanghai), I shall deliberate with the War Minister, Navy Minister and Vice-Chief of the General Staff. I plan to permit no more troops to be sent than are necessary for providing protection to Japanese residents (in Shanghai). I am going to stress this point thoroughly in explaining the matter to the Emperor." The Premier also said that he might "send MATSUOKA, Yosuke to Shanghai."

When I met TAKAHASHI, Korekiyo, the Finance Minister, he said: "Here's how I stand on this issue: From the beginning I was absolutely opposed to the idea of sending troops (to Shanghai). At the recent Cabinet meeting, I told the War Minister: 'I won't attend the Cabinet meeting which will decide the sending of troops. Now even if by chance the Cabinet should decide to send troops, they should be recalled -- even if they should be en-route (to Shanghai) -- if conditions in the meantime should change at Shanghai.'

"To this the War Minister at first said: 'Orders once given for sending troops can't be changed, otherwise it would seriously affect the prestige of military command.' I replied: 'The consideration of military command is a domestic matter; on this serious international matter, such nonsensical talk about the prestige of

of military command should be renounced.' To this, the War Minister said: 'Should such an occasion arise, I'll reconsider the matter.'"

TAKAHASHI was seriously worried; he said: "Japan couldn't even finance a half-year's war expenditure, should war perchance be waged. The present (international) circumstances for Japan are dissimilar to the occasion of the Russo-Japanese War; Japan now has absolutely no righteous cause to warrant the aid of foreign nations. Moreover, should the Cabinet once decide to send troops, the consequent procedures will then automatically be governed solely by the supreme military command. Consequently an unduly excessive amount of force might be mobilized. Should the Army expand military operations for strategic reasons in order to protect Japanese residents (in Shanghai), it might beome extremely difficult to decide just where operations should be stopped. Should the matter develop in such a manner, a very difficult situation will be created. This is a decidedly delicate and difficult problem."

The Finance Minister (TAKAHASHI) showed me a telegram dispatched from New Yoek on the 3rd which arrived on the morning of the 4th. It was from the New York branch-manager of Yokohama Specie Bank.' He stated that he had received a telegram from the Finance Minister attache at the Japanese Embassy in Washington and that he was worried over the extremely adverse U.S. public opinion toward Japan. The telegram was as follows:

"T.W. Lamont said he wanted to see me today,

because he would be away on a vacation beginning tomorrow. I met him. He explained the reasons for the increasingly adverse U.S. public opinion towards Japan. He also stated that the U. S. Government's attitude towards Japan had stiffened. He explained that two days ago he received a phone-call from President Hoover who stated: 'The Japanese Government has violated by military operations its official commitments one after another; consequently the U.S. Government has now wholly lost confidence in the Japanese Government.'

"Lamont intimated that there is danger that the consequence of this would be that Japan's overseas trade credit would be impaired and the credit enjoyed by our firm (Yokohama Specie Bank), Mitsui Bussan, Mitsubishi Shoji, etc., in New York financial circles might be completely suspended. For your information, I am transmitting this telegram."

The Finance Minister said: "The Navy Minister is saying that the Hearst newspapers are endorsing Japan's actions; however they are doing so for domestic political reasons. There is no reason to be elated over this fact."

From the Premier, I heard the following: "To the Emperor, I reported that the Government intends to prevent the further aggravation of the (Shanghai) incident. I warned the War Minister to refrain from attacking the operations-base (of Chinese forces).

"I also summoned the Vice-Chief of the General Staff and inculcated him thoroughly with the categorical necessity of maintaining friendly relations with foreign nations. I admonished him on the prime importance

of strictly controlling the actions of the Japanese mufti-corps. I told him to issue orders to army authorities in China to keep them under strict surveillance in order to prevent them from causing trouble."

Various quarters were gravely worried over the matter of sending troops (to Shanghai). A representative of an influential group said to me: "I believe it would be excellent if the Emperor would summon the War Minister and especially admonish him on this matter. Please advise the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to request the Emperor to take such action."

To this, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "It's preferable for the Cabinet on its own responsibility to request the Emperor to take such action on this matter. It is unsuitable for Court officials close to the Emperor to take any action on this matter."

Prince SAIONJI had said: "The Premier can on his own responsibility at any time freely speak to the Emperor on any matter. Consequently it is the Premier's duty to act informally and freely in such a way as to fulfil his duty as chief advisor to the Emperor." Therefore, I thought that the Premier himself should make such a request to the Emperor. When I spoke to the Premier about the matter, he looked at me with a puzzled expression on his face.

On the 3rd of February, that is, two days before I spoke to the Premier on the above-mentioned topic, YOSHIZAWA, the Foreign Minister, had suddenly visited Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu and talked with him for about 2½ hours.

The Premier with a puzzled expression on his face said: "I am planning to summon the Vice-Chief of the General Staff, to explain to him the various reasons for limiting the Army's action to providing protection for Japanese residents, and also to give him a detailed explanation of the financial situation of Japan. I shall also explain this matter to the Chief of the General Staff. I shall likewise summon the War and Navy Ministers and admonish them thoroughly on this matter. And after I shall have finished admonishing the aforementioned persons, I shall report to the Emperor that: 'On such and such matters, I have admonished these persons.' By following such a safe procedure, I plan to minimize as much as possible the dangers inherent in taking action on this matter. Please tell Prince SAIONJI, not to worry."

After this meeting with the Premier, I again went to Okitsu to see Prince SAIONJI and reported to him what the Premier had told me. To this Prince SAIONJI said: "I should have told you about it when you were here the last time. When YOSHIZAWA came to see me (in behalf of the Premier) sometime ago, I admonished him on this matter. YOSHIZAWA had asked, 'Won't you please teach me the suitable procedure to follow in handling this delicate matter?' So I instructed him on the procedure to follow (as recounted to you by the Premier)."

Prince SAIONJI spoke thus and laughed.

On the 7th of February, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal summoned me. I went to see him. He was worried over the Shanghai Incident.

Hoover's Warning

According to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, it seems that SEKIYA, the Vice-Grand Chamberlain, made arrangements for MATSUOKA to give a lecture to the Emperor on the Manchuria-Mongolia problems in view of the fact that he is going to leave for Shanghai soon. This was arranged in lieu of an audience with the Emperor due to the fact that under his present status, MATSUOKA cannot be received in audience by His Majesty. Moreover, later I heard that MATSUOKA gave his lecture on the Manchuria-Mongolia problems to the Emperor with the understanding that he would not mention current affairs.

Prince SAIONJI was much worried over the fact that MATSUOKA is going to be sent to Shanghai. He said: "MATSUOKA is a person who is likely to fall into paradoxes. I am afraid that Japanese authorities in Shanghai -- officials of the War and Navy Ministries and Foreign Office -- may be vexed and troubled by him."

I wrote to Admiral NOMURA giving him a friendly warning about this peculiar trait of MATSUOKA.

Prince SAIONJI also said: "I believe it is a good idea to have the Finance Minister TAKAHASHI explain the true situation on Japan's national finance to their Imperial Highnesses, the Chief of the General Staff and the Chief of the Naval General Staff."

At first it was undecided as to whether the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal should be requested to be the intermediary to bring this matter to the attention of Their Imperial Highnesses, or whether the Premier should inform them about the matter. It was finally decided

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to have the Premier inform the Finance Minister about this idea of Prince SAIONJI and have the Finance Minister himself directly talk to Their Imperial Highnesses regarding this matter.

That same evening, INUKAI, Ken (son of Premier INUKAI) came and said: "The Governor-General of Korea, UGAKI, has tendered his resignation, stating that he felt responsible for the occurrence of the lese majeste incident." The telegram from UGAKI stated: 'I tender my resignation; giving reasons for resigning. Whether this should be accepted or not is a problem.' Opinions vary on whether UGAKI really intends to resign or whether his action is a mere formal gesture.

I had heard from UGAKI himself sometime ago that he had the intention of resigning from his post; therefore, I felt that he truly did intend to resign. For the Seiyukai, it would be very embarrassing should UGAKI resign before the general election is held. Consequently I felt that the Seiyukai wanted to delay accepting UGAKI's resignation until after the general election.

I heard that the Premier is going to consult the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and then report as follows to the Emperor: "UGAKI, Governor-General of Korea, has tendered his resignation; however, in view of present political circumstances, please do not accept it."

I heard also that a letter was sent to UGAKI, inquiring: "Should the Emperor request you to remain in office, what do you intend to do?" To this, UGAKI answered: "I am overawed, I cannot predict my decision

at this moment."

The members of the Privy Council are in general worried over the arbitrary, high-handed activities of the Army stationed in Manchuria in connection with the present Manchurian Incident.

There is a strong opinion in the Privy Council that: "A State Council presided over by the Emperor should be convened; by all means Army discipline must be restored."

When the Navy Vice-Minister went to ITO, Miyoji (Privy Councillor) and explained (the arbitrary and high-handed actions of the Army in Manchuria to him), ITO expressed his indignation over the actions of the Army and even said: "A drastic decisive action will have to be taken."

When I heard this, I felt that this was paradoxical because of the fact that the Privy Council had in the past been considerably instrumental in instigating and inciting the Army. I feel that a great responsibility rests with the Privy Council for its past irresponsible actions.

I heard that on the 10th a conference of Marshals, Fleet-Admirals, Generals and Admirals was going to be held at the Navy Minister's official residence. The Navy Minister explained the purpose of the meeting as follows: "This is a mere formal meeting in view of the fact that a joint-operation of the Navy and Army will be started soon in Shanghai." The Navy Minister voluntarily held a press conference with foreign correspondents in order to forestall misunderstandings on the Navy's actions and to request discretion on outgoing news. The Navy Minister boasted that as a

result of this, recent reports from Naval Attaches abroad indicated that the general attitude of foreign countries towards Japan has somewhat inproved.

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Chapter 31 - 32
(23 - 24 February 1932)

Attack on Woosung

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

I met Foreign Minister YOSHIZAWA at the Foreign Office; he evidently held greatly concerned. He said: "As I have been saying from the beginning, in order to keep the Shanghai Incident from getting any larger it is necessary to make the Chinese Army retreat to a certain point. Day before yesterday I heard that if a neutral zone is established England and America will lend aid. Therefore, yesterday I telegraphed instructions to Minister SHIGEMITSU in Shanghai to say that this is the idea of Fleet Commander NOMURA and for him to lend aid. In other words it is a cooperative action of the Army and Navy. The fact that the Japanese newspapers played up this article so greatly is very annoying. The Woosung fort was fired upon because it is right in the traffic lane and if this fort can be taken it will afford a land road which I am hoping will obviate landing in the Settlement. Naturally, Woosung is Chinese territory, but to pass through the Settlement, entailing a march through the streets, would be very dangerous, therefore I still think I will let them go from Woosung."

Just as I was ready to leave, the Foreign Minister whispered: "There seems to be a discontented feeling in the Cabinet towards Finance Minister TAKAHASHI."

I again met the Foreign Minister on the 12th, at which time he said: "Before you go to Okitsu, there is something I wish to say. On my way back to Japan I

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met Commander HONJO at Mukden and he repeatedly mentioned the necessity of a Special Envoy to the United States. After my return I studied the suggestion from various angles and came to the conclusion that there is a necessity of sending someone. I spoke to MATSUOKA, Yosuke about it, but he refused. Then the War Minister came and said: 'I would like very much to send Count KANEKO to America.' The government has not as yet decided to send Count KANEKO, but he has a great desire to go. If at this stage anyone but the Count were sent, the governments' action would be greatly resented by the Count. Even if Count KANEKO is sent, some other suitable person would have to be sent with him. And since Count KANEKO is at present Chairman of the Examination Committee of the Privy Council, I am very worried about the revenge he will take if he is provoked."

He continued, saying that Fleet Commander NOMURA said: "As the result of study since taking up my position, I believe that a proposal to stop fighting should not be advanced for the time being, so as not to touch the nerve center of the United States and England, until the arrival of the Army. Then the might of our Army can be shown, which will not leave us at a disadvantage. To have a third power intervene and stop the fighting at this time when China is claiming great victories and basking in glory, I think would be very unprofitable. At any rate, the important thing is, we must await the arrival of the Army and then put in a shot."

Such was the talk I heard from the Foreign Minister and I also heard the same kind of talk at the Navy Ministry.

The Premier, after considerable deliberation, decided at the Cabinet meeting on the 2nd to call out the Army for the protection of residents or in other words to guard the Settlement, but not to let the affair grow larger. If by chance a shot is fired and if in accordance with the third plan, a real war develops, it would be disastrous, and thus we are working hard to prevent such a thing. Such was the trend of talk which I also heard from the Premier.

Then there was talk about the Home Minister insistently asking me to meet Doctor TATE before my going to Okitsu. I then telephoned Doctor TATE and had him come over to the house and talked to him on various subjects, among which the following was emphasized: "The independent state of Manchukuo is a direct violation, but according to Doctor BATY, 'An independent country established by Japanese military might and with Japan occupying the territory is a much worse violation than a country obtaining independence by itself.' Therefore the Premier is also worried about this new independent country."

Then I left on the night of the 12th, arrived at Okitsu on the morning of the 13th, gave a detailed report, and returned.

I again met the Foreign Minister and he said: "The Ninth Division has arrived so we are requesting the retreat of the 19th Infantry (Chinese). If they do not retreat we will give them a burst and also pursue them. If we are not met by a counter-attack we will be able to establish a neutral zone. Twenty miles, it is said, but that distance is not necessary because I do not

think the bombing range necessitates that distance. However, if we can accomplish it without shooting, all the better. The Chinese think they have won a great victory and are boasting of it so they may not retreat easily. Although Japan with the aid of a third power will retreat without casualties, the Chinese, with the thought that they have won, will be very discouraged. The present purpose is for the protection of the residents, therefore, a retreat should be just the thing, but as long as they are putting on the prossure, a safety zone cannot be established. Thus I think a burst will have to be applied."

When Chief Secretary HAYASHIDA came back from Shanghai and I heard from him in detail, I was a little relieved by his saying: "When the Japanese Army took up their posts the Chinese started to attack, therefore we returned fire. This proves the falsity of the criticism of the United States and Britain to date. The fault does not lie with Japan. The fact that there is a shortage of armaments and that bombs were dropped from the air is causing a great sensation. A report from the League Investigation Committee in Shanghai looks unfavorable to Japan but there were exaggerations, so SHIGEMITSU is now adjusting them. Upon the arrival of the 9th Division a burst will be applied and withdrawal will be started as soon as possible. With reasonable resistance, a neutral zone will be set up and the Settlement will be patrolled by a combined force of different countries, and at some

time it is intended to withdraw the Japanese soldiers.

In regard to Manchuria, I would like to go on with an independent policy. My idea is to make no direct violation of the Nine Power Pact, and to think of the past and future position of Manchuria, so that she will be recognized by the World. To have this fact verified would arouse sympathy toward Japan."

Then I went to the Premier's residence and he said: "At a conference of the Privy Council, Count ISHII asked: "Won't the government do some manipulating in Manchuria?" to which I clearly stated "The government will never do any manipulating."

On the return of YAMAOKA, Chief of the Kwantung District, he stated that after the return of General ITAGAKI to Tokyo, there was a slight alleviation. He continued: "Therefore we would like to withdraw our troops from Manchuria as soon as possible. However, there will be a shortage of police, so I would like to try using a part of the Army to reinforce the police. But to do so would cost about 6 million yen. I am trying to think of some way to cover this expense, so that it can be realized. At any rate, I plan to discuss it with the Ministers of Finance, War, Navy and Foreign Affairs, and later to bring it out in a Cabinet meeting and obtain a decision."

If in the coming elections, the ADACHI faction gains a majority we hope they will not cause trouble but this point is not very clear yet.

In a recent audience with the Emperor, I said: "The government intends to follow a very lenient policy toward Manchuria."

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Then I went to see Home Minister NAKAHASHI whom I had not met for some time and he said: "The general prediction for the election is 245 for Seiyukai and 170 for Minseito." And he was saying that because of insufficient campaign funds, he was having very much difficulty. And also that because Finance Minister TAKAHASHI will not change the directors of special banks, it is difficult to pull the purse strings. Bearing that in mind I had intended at first to become the Finance Minister. I would have changed all the heads of special banks and allowed them to withdraw at least five or six million yen. It looks as though ADACHI has no chance.

In the past, election control expenses were usually handed from the government directly to the party, and the Home Ministry did not get anything, but this time the whole one million, eight hundred thousand yen for election control was handed to the Home Ministry and then distributed among all city and prefectural police, which evidently has made them very happy. Then too, the Army has become quieter than at one time and there were times, when Princes were made use of, that traces of slight commotions. I think though, that since the China Incident things have quieted down quite a bit.

Then I went and spoke with Finance Minister TAKAHASHI on various things and he said: "In order to recover the Army's prestige, the Army will be sent to Shanghai to shoot. Speaking bluntly, the Army is to recover its prestige even at the expense of the nation. Which, I think, is something that is very delicate to debate upon. The War Minister says that if they do not retreat 20 kilometers, he will continue to batter, but from past

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experiences, do you think they can do that in the first place? I am worrying over the reckless talk. Moreover, if it is decided to send troops and as a result war develops, with Japan's credit blocked in the United States and Britain, nothing can be accomplished. Not only that, if we are isolated from all countries, I am afraid we will lose everythin as a result, even what has been done for Manchuria and Mongolia. Japan's funds will not hold out any longer than March of next year at best. This is just a small matter, but the Army has an odd scheme. Someone from the War Ministry came to the Finance Ministry and said: 'We are thinking of giving speedy training to some tax officials. How long do you think it would take? The object of the training is to make tax officials out of men in the reserve Army and to send them to Manchuria to collect taxes. I really think that this is very scandalous talk."

In the words of the Finance Minister there was a request from the Emperor in regard to calling out the Army: "Discuss it thoroughly with the War Minister, Navy Minister, General Staff, Naval General Staff, Foreign Minister and the Finance Minister"; the Finance Minister continued: "If such steps are not taken, from the standpoint of controlling power, the Army will disregard everything and once they start calling the Army out they will not stop. It is indeed unscrupulous talk but something should be done about having the Prince consider the situation."

I went to Okitsu on the morning of the 13th and made a complete report on recent developments. At this

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time I expressed my worries about the usual TAKAHASHI problem. (To which the Prince replied) "Rather than hav the Home Minister say anything it is the responsibility of the Prime Minister to tell the Emperor: 'The Army should listen to the opinion of the Finance Minister. In other words, the Army should consider the opinion of the various Ministers who have relations with the Finance Ministry with sincerity, as the occasion calls for, in regard to all movements and plans.' It would be desirable to have the Emperor warn the Chief of the General Staff and the Chief of Naval General Staff in the above sense. Something of this nature is, I think, the proper procedure for the Prime Minister to take. However, if MAKINO is coming on the 21st, let us decide after I have met MAKINO."

Then the Prince mentioned how unpleasant the Army policy is toward the debates in regard to this independent-country talk, but he went on to say: "As a matter of fact, the trouble is that the government and everybody else is being drawn in by the Army. But the point about being in trouble or being worried is just a temporary condition in a crisis so that such a time don't think it is much more fun to work hard. Politicians are constantly speaking of 'The Nation's crisis', or 'How perplexing', but that is indeed running away from responsibility. Even should they think it a real national crisis or perplexity they should approach it with a little calmer attitude."

Returning to Tokyo, KONOYE was waiting for me and he said: "It seems that there is deep plot close at hand. I met a person who claimed to be a real good

friend and classmate of the present War Minister, ARAKI, and a certain Reserve Lt. Colonel SAIKI. And according to him, they say: 'The present day made-to-order political parties are no good whatsoever. It is said that the Army has handed quite a supply of arms over to the secret society Shinbusha, a faction of OZAWA, Shumei which is financed by ISHIWARA, Koichiro. And to these men too, they said the only actual solution for the China problem and the Manchuria-Mongolia problem is to ----.' Such is being said, but actually an internal political revolution is the main object. Then too, ARAKI's faction is planning to back either HIRANUMA or ARAKI for Premier; then finally to put KOISO in control and put HIRANUMA in the Imperial Palace as Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal for the purpose of ousting those close to the Emperor and to manipulate politics as they like. Such is the story which makes me think the plot is close at hand."

"So as a matter of course I (KONOYE) met War Minister ARAKI today and he said: 'HIRANUMA must be put in or otherwise the issue will now subside. Looking at the conduct of Cabinet meetings these days, there is absolutely nothing worth talking about. And while I am War Minister I will not let the Army do anything ruthless and of course, will strive to preserve peace in the Capitol. However, to plan something of that nature at a time young officers, for the love of their country will not make me throw them aside. Furthermore, Premier INUKAI, with the idea that with the aid of the Emperor he can hold down the Army, is at the root of the antipathy of the Army. It is not like the

ill-feeling toward Foreign Minister YOSHIZAWA, but more like dissatisfaction."

"Thus, the conversation proceeded, but upon coming back I could not help but feel that various subversive plots were already shaped. Something must be done about them. And furthermore I have heard that the plots must be carried out before the coming general elections." Thus KONOYE related the above to me very worriedly.

I said to KONOYE emphatically: "I think that ARAKI himself is being slightly bluffed in regard to that. So I think there is no need to be so fearful."

Immediately after this, I phoned INOUYE, Saburo and went to meet him. I had him call Lt. Colonel SUZUKI, Taiichi, of the Military Affairs Bureau, and although I didn't tell him outright that I heard it from KONOYE I wanted to ascertain the authenticity of such plans. I received the following answer: "There absolutely will not be such a ruthless thing at present. However, I am thinking that something will have to be done about it."

Then KONOYE, KIDO and OKABE wanted to hear the various points of the Army's desires, and through the efforts of INOUYE, Saburo I was promised a seat in the talk. But then, four or five days before the talk was to be held, INOUYE, Saburo came to me and said: "I have come to get your understanding. Colonel OBATA of the General Staff, and SUZUKI, were to have met you fellows. KIDO, KONOYE and OKABE are all right but it seems that they are slightly wary of you. Although I don't think it is fair to you, they are to

meet at my place on the night of the 19th and they are saying that they do not want you to come so ——."

Therefore KNOWE felt very sorry for me but I said: "I understand perfectly. When drinking sake I will retaliate by saying "The Army is the cause of the downfall of Japan." Even if I do not go, KONOYE will be able to hear and I will hear from him afterwards, so there is really no necessity to be reserved on account of me. And besides there are other associations which must be kept up, so go right ahead without reservations."

The talk just happened to be scheduled for the next day, but regardless of this, I called SUZUKI and asked him, to which he replied: "There is absolutely no truth in it. The present KONOYE talk is centered around the tie-up of the HIRANUMA faction and MORI. ADACHI is also connected in some way. Therefore, it is planned to establish a so-called "rising-nation Cabinet" under which disguise HIRANUMA will run."

On the morning of the 20th, I went to Okitsu and met the Prince and told him of the complete plot. And he said the Home Minister was coming on the 21st. But on the night of the 19th, the American Ambassador had called Roosevelt (Philippine Commissioner) as his guest, at which time, the Home Minister was also present and he said: "I was supposed to call on Prince SAIONJI on the 21st but my rheumatism is hurting me terribly, so I will excuse myself. And if you don't mind, when you go tomorrow, will you ask him to postpone the meeting of the 21st for a short time." Which was what he told me, so I told the Prince.

Then I said to the Prince: "The Army evidently

holds a feeling that Premier [redacted] is using the Emperor's power excessively in trying to suppress the Army, which evidently is the cause of all the antipathy. For this reason the matter that you were going to discuss with the Home Minister about having him tell the Chiefs of the General Staff and the Naval General Staff "to regard carefully the opinions of all Ministers involved" is at this time likely to create bad feelings, so I think it should be left alone."

To which the Prince replied: "Then we will not go into that." And continued to say: "It cannot be helped. As you say, if the plot plans are already completed, I absolutely do not want [redacted] put into the Imperial Household but [redacted] should be used in other capacities. It is a sort of temporary way out, but I must have this little leeway."

To which I replied: "Last night, called by the American Ambassador, I went to see him. The only Japanese there were the Home Minister, Count [redacted], War Minister [redacted], the Foreign Minister's secretary and myself. But there were quite a few Americans. Recently, when Ministers of political parties invite foreign officials, not only the hosts but the guests are inconvenienced. When a Minister for state affairs associats with such foreign officials and people able to associate are not at hand then men like [redacted] or [redacted] are called upon. Therefore, if a good minister for state affairs is not put in, it is too bad that gentlemen will not attend." Such is what was said; then from the talk about Roosevelt the talk switched to Count [redacted].

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The Prince said: "Roosevelt finally did not know what to do about KAWEKO but according to KAWEKI, Roosevelt did not have anything against him." And continuing, he said: "What has happened to the talk about dispatching KAWEKO as the special envoy to the United States?" To which I replied: "I think the talk is at a standstill since that time."

Then I returned on the 21st and Navy Minister OSUMI said: "Let me meet SHIRATORI", and continued to say: "During such an incident I protest going to restaurants or tea-houses." In view of this, I arranged to have Navy Minister OSUMI, Military Affairs Bureau Chief MAGATA and SHIRATORI and TANI from the Foreign Office come to my house on the night of the 21st at 6 o'clock and while eating we talked on various things until around 11 o'clock. At that time SHIRATORI constantly attacked the inconsistency of the Foreign Minister and in arage said: 'It is better by far to make Vice-Minister NAGAI the Foreign Minister and let him contact the foreign officials. It would be much surer and besides being a good linguist he would be very good.' To which I replied: 'Didn't you say a secretary-like man like NAGAI was of no use. Now you think NAGAI is pretty good. For what reason is this?"

Then various intra-governmental conversation was carried on and the Navy Minister was told that TANI too was having trouble with Foreign Minister YOSHIZAWA and finally the talk ended by saying: "NAGAI will be made Foreign Minister and something will be done."

The editorials in the London Times having become

very antagonistic, about which something should be done, was conferred with the Foreign Minister. And finally after talking far into the night, it was decided to send a joint message from the Foreign and Navy Ministers.

The following night KONOYE was asked to come to Tokyo from Kamakura and was paid a visit by MORI and SHIRATORI.

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 33
(29 February 1932)

Threats of a Coup d'etat

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

The talk that MORI brought, not only about Premier INUKAI but also about YOSHIZAWA, increasingly diminished good feelings and what he said follows: "It is bad to have YOSHIZAWA as the present Foreign Minister. Therefore NAGAI, the present Vice-Minister should be moved up as Minister and be aided by the Bureau Vice-Chief. By so doing, not only the atmosphere in the Foreign Office but the feeling of foreign officials within and without the country would be much improved, not to mention office efficiency. Thus YOSHIZAWA must be relieved or I will not be able to rest."

After that, on the night of the 23rd, I invited General OKADA; OKAZAKI, Kunisuke; MOCHIZUKI, Keisuke; TAKEKOSHI, Yosaburo; and Commerce and Industry Minister MAEDA, Sayezo to the Yoshida-ya for a celebration for Mr. MAEDA, at which time various matters were discussed. At that time too, talk of the Army coup d'etat came out, as well as other talk, and General OKADA said: "If things remain as present, they can still be controlled", or: "It isn't anything serious" and continued: "However, everybody socially speaking, for instance the capitalists at the Industry Club or Bankers Club will be greatly depressed. And the fact is hard to deny that a condition of great social unrest exists. Capitalists should take just a little calmer attitude or else it will be very bad. Espocially, like the old Prince, at a time like this we should remain calm to the last". And the General continued to say: "As OKAZAKI, Kunisuke or

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Mr. MAEDA are continuously saying behind everybody's back,it's not like this or it's not like that but worrying by themselves will get them nowhere. What whould be done is for everybody to get together and study the facts with due coordination and think of some counter-measure"; this was the type of talk that went on until late that night.

Then on the morning of the 24th, I called on the Navy Minister at the Navy Ministry at which time he said: "When Prince FUSHIMI, Chief of the Naval General Staff was given audience by the Emperor, the Emperor said: 'Even in the present Government there does not seem to be coordination, which is very bad. Finance Minister TAKAHASHI says, from the financial standpoint, in the present case it will naturally be very difficult for the incident to expand. And the Army will not be able to accomplish what they are planning. But the War Minister, disregarding finances, is saying various things, which is uncooperative.' In so saying he showed that he was indeed very worried, therefore, I wonder if someone can't be found to talk with him and thereby ease his mind."

Then the Navy Minister continued: "I emphasized to the Chief of the Naval General Staff, the Prince; 'At the times of your audiences with the Emperor do not touch upon politics' as sort of warning.

Then on that day KONOYE and KIDO came and according to their talk, that person SAIKI, who met War Minister ARAKI came to KONOYE's place and said: "I met the War Minister and repeatedly warned him about HIRANUMA; the War Minister evidently held a firm belief that those

around HIRANUMA were the bad influences and not HIRANUMA himself. Bad influences around him point to the fact that he himself being a bad influence, bad influences gather around him. A person can't be good who mixes with bad company." Such being said, ARAKI made a wry face. Then, according to the War Minister, "there is a TANAKA, Kunishige who is now a General of the Reserves, who not only has character but has common sense, as far as the Army is concerned. In his youth he went to England and he is a man who shows considerable strength. 'Such a man should be made the Prime Minister' is what is being said repeatedly." Then he mentioned a second coup d'etat which he contended to be very dangerous and departed.

Along about 11:30, there was a phone call from the British Ambassador and he asked me to come to the phone myself, whereupon he said: "I am sorry but there is something I want to talk to you about. May I see you?" To which I replied: "I will be over, if that is the case."

When I entered the British Embassy the Ambassador led me to his library and said: "This is strictly between friends so I am going to talk to you as an individual. If as a result of today's Cabinet meeting the Japanese Army is to be reinforced, and in the event is sent to Shanghai, please do not let it pass through the Settlement. Even now the atmosphere in various countries is very tense; passing through the Settlement will not better conditions. This is especially true as the majority of the English people there are of the non-intellectual group. And I believe that these people have the idea that Shanghai is a part of British terri-

tory." And then after various other talk I said: "As far as I am concerned, although my position does not necessitate my action, since you ask me especially, I will ascertain the facts." Upon which I went to the Navy Ministry and called on the Vice-Minister SAKONSHI and had him call the General Staff to ask about the landing point. To which the reply from the General Staff was: "This time we will have them land at the Railroad Pier or on the beach north of Shanghai, therefore they will not pass through the Settlement."

Thereupon I immediately went to the Ambassador that afternoon to ease his mind. To which he replied: "Do not tell the other ambassadors here of the talk that you and I had", which he made me promise before taking my leave.

Then that afternoon I called on General OKADA and unfolded all the talk about the certain coup-d'etat regarding the Army, about HIRANUMA's ambition, and the incident about making ARAKI the Premier. To which the General said: "That will make matters very bad. At any rate something will have to be thought of. That is something that I am very worried about." Then I said: "General FUKUDA is also very concerned about the control of the Army and Army discipline." To which General OKADA replied: "Then I shall phone and go to General FUKUDA and ask him offhand the recent trends."

When KONOYE came yesterday morning he said: "Some Prince of the Blood must be made the Premier or else some other person of Imperial lineage will be brought forth. For instance HIRANUMA will back General Prince FUSHIMI or maybe I could sway the issue. In other words,

if I were not able to attain that position I think I would try to use some other plan. It is indeed very precarious, so from my own way of thinking I would put a Prince of Blood in as Premier and put MAKINO in under him and also give HIRANUMA a share. Or perhaps put SAITO, or somebody in his category, in as commissioner for the Home Minister. Then it may be for the better to change the positions of those close to the Emperor. And don't you think taking action first would be a check on HIRANUMA and those fellows in the plot?"

On the 24th KONOYE went to Okitsu and spoke on various things, after which the Prince said: "As a matter of fact KONOYE came and he was very worried. And I told him that I would meet him again in four or five days. How is the present internal status of the Seiyukai? I wonder if we can find out the steps and methods to be used in forming a so-called Rising Nation Cabinet which it is said will be formed when MORI and his faction bring something out against the Premier and Foreign Minister to make the present Cabinet resign. I would also like to hear whether the time for this is very close at hand. If this can be found out in some manner, I want you to watch for it." Then I said: "I think it would be better for you to meet SHIRATORI and MORI and hear their story first," and continued by saying: "It looks as though War Minister ARAKI himself is being bothered just a little bit by the younger group."

Then I returned to Tokyo on the 26th and told OKAZAKI, Kunisuke that I wanted to see him. Whereupon he said it was just right for him so he would call on me. That evening he came to my place and when I asked him

about conditions within the Seiyukai he said: "Well at present it is said that the party has increased considerably. I am thinking of it rather nonchalantly. If by chance a question should arise about revamping the Cabinet it would probably come when Home Minister NAKABASHI resigned or when the President of the House of Representatives is appointed. Then the revamping of the Cabinet would center around either making SUZUKI the Home Minister or TOKONAMI. I fear Premier INUKAI will be unable to cope with either of them. Therefore I think he will take the middle road and perhaps use KUHARA. But naturally KUHARA has a great deal of ambition. And if KUHARA is not suitable then of course, SUZUKI, not being able to become Premier will bring forth somebody that he can use freely. Thus SUZUKI will be holding the actual power.

Then after diversified talk and a "bite to eat" (ochazuke) at my house he (OKAZAKI) went home.

Immediately after that I had INOUYE, Saburo and Lt. Col. SUZUKI come and during the course of conversation, SUZUKI's talk was quite different from what I had heard from KONOYE or MORI and SUZUKI stated: "I do not think it good for an Army man to have a direct say in the guidance of politics."

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